

NEW YORK HERALD

BROADWAY AND ANN STREET.

JAMES GORDON BENNETT,
PROPRIETOR.

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AMUSEMENTS THIS EVENING.

ST. JAMES THEATRE, Twenty-eighth street and Broadway.—CATERINA.—BAGGERS.

ACADEMY OF MUSIC, Fourteenth street.—ITALIAN OPERA.—FALSTUFF.

WALLACK'S THEATRE, Broadway and 13th street.—BOON.

WOOD'S MUSKUM, Broadway, corner 20th st.—Performance afternoon and evening.—CLAYTON.

BOOTH'S THEATRE, 22d st., between 5th and 6th ave.—THE VICTIM.—SOLON SUTHER.

BOWERY THEATRE, Bowery.—THE PHRENON.—REMARKS THE DEATH.

NILES'S GARDEN, Broadway, between Prince and Houston streets.—OUR AMERICAN COUSIN.

GRAND OPERA HOUSE, corner of 34th and 35th st.—FANNY: OR THE DAYS OF THE CONQUEST.

LENA EDWIN'S THEATRE, No. 79 Broadway.—OPERA BOOTS.—LA FORT DE ROBERT.

FIFTH AVENUE THEATRE, Twenty-fourth street.—THE NEW DRAMA OF DIVORCE.

OLYMPIC THEATRE, Broadway.—THE BALLET FANTASIES OF HENRI DUPRE.

THIRTY-FOURTH STREET THEATRE, near Third ave.—THEO. EUGENIUS. VOYAGEUR, &c.

PARK THEATRE, opposite City Hall, Brooklyn.—SERVA, THE RIDER.

MRS. F. A. CONWAY'S BROOKLYN THEATRE.—THE RIDER.

HOOVER'S OPERA HOUSE, Brooklyn.—VARIETY ENTERTAINMENT.

UNION SQUARE THEATRE, Fourteenth st. and Broadway.—NEURO ASTOR.—BULLFIGHT, HALL, &c.

THEATRE COMIQUE, 314 Broadway.—COMIC VOYAGEUR, NEURO ASTOR, &c.

SAN FRANCISCO MINSTREL HALL, 55 Broadway.—THE SAN FRANCISCO MINSTRELS.

BRYANT'S NEW OPERA HOUSE, 22d st., between 5th and 6th ave.—BRYANT'S MINSTRELS.

TORY FACTORY'S OPERA HOUSE, No. 50 Bowery.—BRYANT'S MINSTRELS, BURLINGAME, &c.

NEW YORK CIRCUS, Fourteenth street.—SCENES IN THE KINGDOM OF THE FUTURE.

SOMERSET SQUARE GALLERY, 25 Fifth avenue.—CANTON'S LITHIAN CARTOONS.

TRIPLE SHEET.

New York, Monday, November 27, 1871.

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JUDGE BEDFORD'S GRAND JURY is the main reliance of the plundered people of New York for a clear and earnest arraignment of the city thieves. To them the people look for justice, speedily administered.

THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF GERMANY has given a parliamentary sanction to the report of the national budget commission, fixing the strength of the army, for three years, at 401,659 men at a cost of \$90,373,275. This will enable the German government either to witness at a safe and commanding distance or to participate directly in a great many Old World changes just as its rulers incline.

GENERAL SHERIDAN (not "Little Phil," but some one represented as a leading radical) has been making a speech in Baton Rouge, La., in which General Grant is sadly excoriated. Grant is especially blamed for intimidating political conventions by the presence of the military, when he probably had as much to do about it in the case of the New Orleans Convention as the man on the other side of the moon.

ALEXIS WAS PIOUS AND RESERVED all day yesterday, and as a result news in his regard was meagre. The week before we will give him a chance to air all the Christian virtues, particularly resignation, with which he may yesterday have fortified his soul. Receptions, balls, parades and excursions are the order of the day. The Grand Duke is courageous; he once refused to desert a sinking ship, although ordered to do so; let him now stand by his colors in these hours of trial, like the whole-souled fellow we have found him.

THE PRINCE OF WALES' ILLNESS.—A HERALD special telegram, by cable from London, brings the latest report of the condition of the Prince of Wales' health. The intelligence is not by any means reassuring. His Royal Highness remained severely ill during the day and evening yesterday. The fever maintained its hold, and the patient had not experienced any perceptible amount of comfortable relief. The bulletin which was issued by the physicians on Saturday evening stated that the Prince was "going on well" and that his strength was then good. The unfavorable statement yesterday indicates that the hours of the night brought restlessness and hectic and that the physical effort for recovery had become depressed and weaker towards morning. The fever is of the regular typhoid kind. The people of England were exceedingly anxious with regard to its probable result.

The President's Annual Message to Congress—Everything is Lovely and Grand Stock is High.

We publish in the HERALD this morning a comprehensive synopsis of the coming annual Message of the President of the United States to Congress, procured specially by our Washington correspondent. The document itself, we are told, will be unusually interesting, and will have the recommendation of directness and brevity. From the points now in our possession it is plain that our Chief Executive and his heads of departments find everything lovely in the condition of the country, and that with the trifling exception of the Ku Klux troubles down South—which are probably after all political hobgoblins rather than real dangers—we are a wonderfully prosperous and happy people. Only six years after a civil war that for four years threw out of production the most valuable portion of the Union, destroyed a vast amount of property, stopped emigration, and heaped upon our shoulders a debt from the contemplation of which many of our more short-sighted financiers shrank in affright, we find ourselves wiping out that debt at the rate of about one hundred millions annually, and prepared to sweep away with one dash of our Congressional pen nearly the whole of the internal taxation imposed upon us by the war.

The most important and gratifying feature of the Message is its recommendations in regard to this subject of internal taxation. In these the President comes fairly and squarely on to the HERALD platform, and adopts, almost verbatim, the suggestions made in our columns nearly a year ago. He recommends the abolition of all internal taxes except those on spirits, malt liquors, tobacco in every form and stamps. On the 18th January of the present year we published an analysis of the collections from each specific source of revenue, which showed that the amount realized from the four articles designated above was just upon sixty per cent of the total receipts from internal taxes. Following out our steady line of policy in deprecating Secretary Boutwell's pet folly of endeavoring to pay off the debt at a high-pressure rate of speed, through the instrumentality of high and harassing taxation, instead of devoting some portion of the expansion of the revenue to the immediate relief of the people, we then said: "It is open to us now to knock off at one blow the whole of the internal revenue system that strikes at everything, except these three items of spirits, tobacco and fermented liquors, thereby taking a load from our backs under which we should draw breath with a fiscal freedom corresponding in some degree measure to the political freedom we enjoy." The government appears at last to have awakened to the wisdom of using our large surplus revenue for the lightening of our present burdens, and trusting to the increased elasticity which would necessarily be imparted to the taxation still retained for the means of a steady if less rapid decrease of the debt. The abolition of the odious income tax and of other minor taxation under the present internal revenue system would materially increase the consuming and purchasing power of the people, and thus swell the receipts not only from the articles retained, but from Customs as well. A great saving would also be effected in the expense of collection, and the now onerous machinery of the Internal Revenue Bureau would be simplified. The President states that the receipts from spirits, malt liquor, tobacco and stamps will be sufficient to meet the current expenses of government, and still leave a surplus for an annual small reduction of the principal of the debt, and he thinks this is principally owing to the improvement in the collection of taxes on the articles retained. This is scarcely a broad enough view to take of the subject. The natural expansion of the business of the country, and the extraordinary impetus that would be given thereto by the abolition of taxation in other directions would, we believe, be almost sufficient to keep the revenue up to its present mark, and to enable us to reduce the debt at a rate ample enough to satisfy even Secretary Boutwell.

So far as the political effect of the changes recommended by the President are concerned it is certain that no more popular act than the total abolition of the income tax could be undertaken by any administration. Great credit is claimed for President Grant and his advisers on account of the large reduction of the debt that has been effected during the past three years, but there is a good deal of humbug about this. The debt must be decreased every year in a great nation which grows so wonderfully in material wealth, almost from day to day, through the development of the country, the increase of its population by immigration, and the general spread of its commerce. The grossest financial blunders could scarcely prevent such a result. The people begin to understand this, and they see no reason why they should be burdened unduly to get rid of high-pressure rate, of a debt incurred to preserve the Union and to hand down to our children the inestimable blessing of a strong and free government. While Secretary Boutwell is paying off from eight to ten millions of the principal every month, and still keeps a treasury full to repletion, with a gross balance of one hundred millions and a net balance of from fifty to sixty millions, our citizens cannot recognize the justice of loading them down with oppressive and offensive taxes. Besides, the Secretary's figures, so modestly made as to show to Congress on paper a very moderate reduction of the debt, are now well understood; and he can no longer estimate a payment of twenty or thirty millions a year off the principal when he is really paying one hundred millions. Hence the new departure of the President is highly important in a political point of view, and he can go into the campaign next year with flying colors on the platform of a repeal of the income tax—economy in expenditure and reduction in taxation.

A general recommendation is made of a revision of the tariff, although no articles are specified by the President for a reduction or abolition of duty. It is, however, suggested that those only should be touched which can be included in the revision with the least injury to the country. The President evidently does not give himself up to the free trade advocates, and in view of the great reduction contemplated in the internal

revenue it is probably only intended to modify the tariff to the extent of the average expansion, which is fifteen per cent. There is no reason why the same principle applied to one source of revenue should not be applicable to the other. The sentiment of the country is in favor of the lowest possible tariff consistent with a sufficient revenue. The customs duties should be confined to as few articles as possible, so as to simplify the collection, prevent fraud and evasion, and bear as lightly as possible on the masses of the people. A high tariff holds out a premium to fraud, and is the delight of greedy speculators who are dissatisfied with the legitimate profits of trade, and dishonest officials who are prepared to connive at the violation of law. The customs department of the government is in need of a thorough overhauling, and whatever may be the recommendation of the President, it is to be hoped that Congress will not only give a liberal consideration to the tariff revision, but will also make the attempt to apply the remedies that have been successful in removing the worst corruptions of the once infamous Internal Revenue Department, to the purification of our customs houses and the entire reformation of our whole system of collection. Under every administration for years past the New York Custom House has been nothing more than a huge political machine. The inquiry at Washington into a collector's capability is not as to his ability to collect the revenue honestly and to promote the interests of commerce, but as to his shrewdness as a politician and the efficiency with which he will use the power and influence of his position for the benefit of his party. This is a corruption more dangerous to republican institutions than any amount of personal dishonesty in the administration of a public trust, or than any individual peculation on the part of a public officer. Its evils are more widespread and demoralizing, while it is none the less a fraud upon the public treasury. The people pay the employees of the administration; hence, when subordinates are chosen in any department for political considerations and not for competency, it is the people who are imposed upon; and when sinecurists are fastened on to any public office the money expended on them is stolen directly from the people. In this regard the recommendations of the President on the civil service policy will be interesting, and may lead to a general reform in the entire machinery of government.

The Message will contain congratulations on the result of the deliberations of the Joint High Commission, and will touch upon the Indian policy and the operations in the Corea. The consideration of these topics must, however, be deferred. From the interesting foreshadowing we have received we may conclude that the Message will be an interesting document, and its internal revenue recommendations, based on the HERALD's policy, will assuredly insure its popularity.

The Spirits at Brother Beecher's.

The remarkable manifestations of a spiritualistic character in the church of Brother Beecher, reported elsewhere, mark the greatest progress that even progressive spiritualism has yet attained. It is easy enough to have tables tip their legs in the air, as if they were dancing a wooden cancan at dances gotten up with a special view to such things, but when the tables begin their spiritualistic waltzes under Brother Beecher's very nose and during his most fervent prayers, then the inquiring mind will have to study more seriously the perplexing conundrum, "Why is this?"

Brother Beecher once said that though he was not a spiritualist he would like to be one, and probably the most prominent theological spirits have come to wrestle with him. The result of the battle will be anxiously awaited. If the spirits can save Beecher from the future terrors that wait upon too liberal Christianity they will do a great and wonderful work; and, on the other hand, if Beecher converts the spirits to his broad views we may soon hear of tables rocking in billiard saloons and unseen hands applauding at the opera. If the spirits wish to succeed, however, we would advise them to give up the table idea and venture upon an expounding of their own views, through the lips of Mr. Beecher, as they used to do in their young and callow days through the lips of Cora Hatch.

THE AGITATION IN BELGIUM AND ITS RESULT.

The agitation which has been maintained in Brussels during the past few days has tended to the accomplishment of the object which the originators of the movement had in view. M. Decker's commission as Governor of Limburg was cancelled yesterday. The facts are specially reported in the HERALD by cable telegram. The statements which prevailed in the Belgian capital on the subject were conflicting, as is the case always when partisan feeling is allowed to predominate over reason and good judgment. The Brussels Gazette announced M. Decker's resignation—"a demission" it said—from office in its morning issue. His friends asserted that he had previously resigned with the view of calming the public excitement. The fact is that he is now out of place, and it may be presumed that his "sorehead" opponents are gratified. The police were kept on active duty yesterday notwithstanding, and were called on to disperse crowds of argumentative citizens at different points of the capital.

THE AMERICAN MINISTER IN ROME.—The United States Minister, the Hon. George F. Marsh, has established his headquarters in Rome. This action of our Minister is as prompt and timely as it is becoming. It is not our business to take any note of the differences between the Italian government and the Holy See. Our only concern is with fixed facts, and the fact is now fixed that Rome is to be the headquarters of the Italian government. Mr. Marsh has acted wisely in being in Rome in good time.

THE SAN JUAN QUESTION.—We are informed by a HERALD special telegram from Berlin that the Emperor William of Germany has consented to act as arbitrator between the United States and England for the settlement of the San Juan boundary question. His Majesty will be duly briefed as to the facts of the case, by official memoranda from Washington and London, about the 10th of December. There is little doubt but that he will adjust the difficulty. Peace has its triumphs as well as war.

The Vote of the State and City.

The vote of the State this year for Secretary of State is as follows:—

For Scribner (republican)..... 337,107
For Wallers (democratic)..... 368,214
Republican majority..... 31,107

Last year the State vote for Governor was:—

For Hoffman (democratic)..... 390,832
For Woodford (republican)..... 369,438
Democratic majority..... 21,394

It further appears from these figures that the democratic vote this year falls short of that of last year 31,318—a loss due to the demoralization of the party, resulting from the Tammany disclosures—while the republican gain on their last year's vote is 20,671, making a democratic loss on last year's majority for Hoffman of 51,989.

The total vote of the State, nevertheless, has been slightly decreased since last November.

In 1870 it was..... 765,908
In 1871 it looks up..... 755,321
Decrease..... 10,587

The comparative vote in New York city and Kings county (Brooklyn) on the State ticket will show where this falling off belongs:—

New York city—Democratic..... 187,000
New York city—Republican..... 187,000
Total..... 374,000

Here it will be observed that while we have a loss of only some three thousand on the democratic vote of the city as between this year and last year, we have an increase on the republican vote of nearly twenty thousand.

This increase is due to those voters who heretofore have stayed at home, but who this year went to the polls and voted. To these men of this city the republicans are indebted for the election of their State ticket.

Now let us look at the comparative vote of Kings county:—

Kings county—Democratic..... 30,328
Kings county—Republican..... 30,328
Total..... 60,656

Here we have an increase of ten thousand on the total vote of last year, or an increase of some three thousand in the democratic vote and some seven thousand in the republican. New York and Kings counties together show an increase of twenty-seven thousand on the vote of last year, and yet the State falls short ten thousand. This is due to the comparative apathy of the rural districts; for it shows that outside of this corner of the State the popular excitement about the Governor last year was greater than this year's excitement about the Tammany frauds. On the vote cast this year the republicans gain everywhere except in a few of the counties where Fenton has his disappointed followers, such as St. Lawrence and Chautauque, and in these republican majorities are cut down, and Fentonism is the milk in the cocoanut. Thus, as against Fenton and all those anti-Grant elements, the election of the republican State ticket is a decisive victory for General Grant.

Minister Outcast and the Scandal-mongers.

There are certain persons in the world who are never so much occupied with their own business as not to be able to find time and inclination to interfere in the business of other people. Gossip and scandal are their delight, and they are never better satisfied than when engaged in the retail of spiteful and malicious tattle. Unfortunately, many newspapers are to be found willing to pander to this unhappy taste, and hence the press is constantly degraded by the appearance, in seemingly respectable journals, of all sorts of slanders and personalities in which the public have no concern or interest. Of this character are the stories regarding the Russian Minister Cateacazy concocted at Washington, the hotbed of scandal and of all those petty jealousies and strifes that tend to make life less pleasant than nature designed it to be, and circulated through the medium of journals that strive to make up for their deficiency in news by spreading such trash before their readers. Minister Cateacazy is the representative of a friendly foreign Power, and his position and office should be respected. If he has any misunderstanding of a personal character with any member of President Grant's administration, or if circumstances render it desirable that a change should be made in the Russian Embassy at Washington, the matter can be settled by the respective governments, and the people have no interest in it. At this time the assaults upon the Russian Minister are in peculiarly bad taste, and it is to be hoped they will cease entirely.

VINCENT COLLYER, in his mission to the Indians in Arizona, seems to have felt it his duty to treat the white people with no consideration whatever. He ordered certain scalawag Indians, who existed mainly by making treaties to be broken, on reservations which included some of the best highways in the Territory, and then, under his presumed authority from the President, directed General Crook to restrain white citizens with arms from travelling across these reservations, or else punish them. General Crook declined to do anything of the sort, and thus matters are as bad as they can possibly be for the Quaker policy in Arizona. While we cannot doubt that Mr. Vincent Collyer has the good of the Indians at heart, we must object to his manner of oppressing white people in order to carry out his purposes. We would not have him treat the Indians as guileless angels, nor the white people as inhuman fiends. He is evidently an Indian philanthropist, much of a character similar to that of Mr. Bergh the animal philanthropist, very zealous in defence of his particular charge, but somewhat unjust to white people generally.

THE STATE PRINTER of Indiana proposes to disgorge some eighteen thousand dollars of his pickings and stealings from the State provided litigation against him therefor shall cease. The proposition has been accepted by the Governor, Attorney General and other high officials. Is not this condoning a felony which is calculated to compromise the character of the State itself?

THE ATLANTA *New Era* makes a slight mistake in stating that Horace Greeley had been offered the Presidency of the Department of Public "Books" in place of Peter B. Sweeney. All the present fuss and botheration have been created by the manner in which the public "books" have been kept. About the public Parks there is no complaint.

The Creed of the Churches.

Skimming off the cream of yesterday's pulpit discourses we find Mr. Beecher exhorting the liberal of Protestantism, and insisting that Biblical interpretation must conform to the facts of science or fall to the ground. Outside doubt is sustained by the conflicts in the Church, and Phariseism is there rampant. "There are thousands of men," said Mr. Beecher, "in such a state of uncertainty that the power of the Bible is broken for them" by the persistent adherence of theologians to false interpretations. "God," he added, "made the outward world as well as the Bible, and if anything conflicts something must give way—facts won't." He did not, however, believe that anything will ever permanently disturb the hold of the Bible on men's minds.

The Rev. Dr. Hepworth combined two grand and important ideas in his morning discourse—the forgiveness of enemies and the bravery of a Christian life. He was candid enough to acknowledge that in the common ranks of life as lofty deeds are daily achieved as those which honor kings and adorn thrones. There is a heroism which the world takes note of because it is seen in high places, and there is a heroism which God takes note of, though the hero or heroine may never be known to fame; and those two styles of heroism were indicated and contrasted by Dr. Hepworth.

Dr. Chapin took up the subject of the responsibility for right hearing, and pointed out the different modes. "There is," said he, "such a thing as Sunday hearing—a mere journalism of hearing." There is also an "anxious, zealous style of hearing," which brings comfort and hope and life. The differences in other senses and faculties were brought in to strengthen this one and to show the responsibility of the soul to God for the right improvement of all its powers and talents.

The Rev. Dr. Ewer, late of Christ church (Episcopal), installed himself yesterday as pastor of a portion of his old flock who believe as he does—that Christ is in the bread rather than that He is the bread—in the Church of the Holy Light. His first utterances portray a fearful condition of spiritual darkness in the world, but he had hope because of the spreading power of his own party, who are still, however, in a minority. "But a minority of one on the side of truth is more than equal to the marshalled hosts in the ranks of error." The Doctor, by implication, charged the evangelists with all the sorrows to which he is heir and which the Church of his love has also to bear. His exaltation of the mystery of the Eucharist was all that the most ardent Catholic could desire or expect.

The Rev. Dr. Starr, in the Cathedral, and the Rev. Father Merrick, in St. Francis Xavier's church, treated of the end of the world and the judgment to come as realities near at hand and worthy of our most careful attention. In St. Stephen's Dr. McGlynn portrayed the solemnity of the hour in which the Saviour took His Last Supper with the Disciples and left them as a keepsake, and with them the Church in all ages, a command to show forth His death till He shall come again by partaking of the bread and of the cup in remembrance of Him. Father Damsen, in the Church of St. John the Evangelist, preached on the procrastination of repentance, and urged promptness in this duty.

The Rev. Dr. Porter, in the Bedford avenue (Brooklyn) Reformed church, discoursing on the offence of the cross, said very emphatically that "the question which divided men in this age is not one of Calvinism or Arminianism, of Protestantism or Romanism, so much as the query, 'Who is Christ?' Art thou He that should come, or do we look for another?" The life and character of the late Rev. Alfred Cookman were beautifully portrayed last evening by the Rev. Mr. Longacre, an old friend of his and one who knew him well. Mr. Cookman was a minister of no ordinary ability. A devoted Christian, an earnest preacher, a polished gentleman and a genial friend, his praise is in all the churches of Methodism throughout this land.

From Washington we have Dr. Newman's refutation of "science, falsely so called," and his able defence of the Bible from the assaults of infidels. Other sermons which will be found in our columns we commend, with those above noticed, to the careful consideration of the hundreds of thousands to whom the HERALD will re-preach them to-day.

THE *ELMIRA Advertiser*—republican organ in western New York—in discussing the subject of the next Presidency, arrives at the conclusion that "the overwhelming leaning of the republican party at this moment toward General Grant has its basis in good and sufficient reasons found in his administration of the government; and we know of but one man who can change his attitude, and that man is himself." When General Grant does change himself there are plenty of anti-Grant men who will declare that is no matter of "small change" at any rate. He will probably fight it out on his present line if it takes until next November.

THE SPRINGFIELD (Illinois) *State Register* (democratic) says the difference between the democratic and republican parties, that one believes in the right, duty and capacity of the people to govern themselves, and the other does not believe in anything of the kind. The way the people have been governed by corrupt officials of all parties for the last ten years leads them to the conclusion that the old axiom, "the world is governed too much," is only too true in their case.

THE HEAVY SNOW STORMS on the Plains have proven terribly destructive of human life. A battalion of infantry was snowed up near Helena, Montana, and most of the men were severely frozen. A number of cattle herders and buffalo hunters in Kansas were frozen to death, and a serious loss of life by snow slides in the Wahatch cañons, in Utah, are reported.

THE GREENEY REPUBLICANS.—Mr. Greeley in the chair—held a meeting on Saturday evening last for the consideration of the peace propositions from the Republican State Central Committee, but as the "Sage of Chappaqua" was not satisfied with the terms offered they were rejected; the meaning of which is that Mr. Greeley intends to "fight it out on this line" for the White House if it takes all winter.

The Presidential Campaign—Grant's Real Danger—Financial Disaster Means the Defeat of the Administration.

The combinations now being made against General Grant seem to have taken courage from despair. In some respects a more selfish combination was never seen in our political history. We recall but two similar instances—the attempt of Burr to gain the Presidency by an intrigue against Jefferson—and the arrangement by which Clay and Adams, in defiance of the expressed will of the people, defeated Jackson and made Adams President. These proceedings were immoral. In the case of Burr, manifestly so—a mere dicer's contrivance. With Adams there was no positive immorality, no deliberate conspiracy, for Clay and Adams were both honorable men, and all that was done was within the strict letter of the constitution and the laws; but it was in violation of the will of the people and gave rise to grave suspicions. It carried its own punishment. It enabled Jackson's followers and Jackson himself to allege all manner of scandals; it almost cost Clay his life in the duel with Randolph; it prevented his elevation to any place higher than the Department of State. The people are never deceived by injustice, and however petulant or wayward in what is called the expression of popular opinion, in the end they are governed by magnanimity. So far, therefore, as these combinations against Grant are the angry inspirations of men who have never held office, or the feverish anticipations of those who desire Presidential honors, they will have little effect upon the people. When Mr. Schurz says, for instance, that Grant in his St. Domingo policy meant to declare war in spite of Congress, and that his action was an usurpation, nobody believes him, and he does not believe himself. We feel that he is angry for another reason, and that he assigns a pretext. For however much men may dislike the St. Domingo business, no one can question Grant's honesty in the matter. Call it a mistake; only a demagogue will call it a crime.

And so down the list of drag-net accusations and denunciations, all this tavern-gossip about cottages and presents and appointing relatives to office. When politicians try to build a party, or even "organize a movement" in this way, they have a quicksand for their foundation, and the first heavy breeze from the northwest will make an end of it. It means, furthermore, that they have really no valid grievances with the administration. Grave and gray and bearded men like Sumner and Greeley do not stand up seriously and recite stories like what we read about the President when they have a principle to defend or some crime against the republic to punish. This phase of the canvass is an encouragement to the supporters of the President, as showing the poverty of the anti-Grant leaders. History is full of other encouragements. Remember what was said of Washington and Jefferson and Jackson and Lincoln by the opposition to their administrations. We have taken those names and canonized them in our political shrines; and in every convention we make our devotions and honor their memory and mourn over them as the true fathers of the republic. In their day they were assailed as savagely and unreasonably as Grant. It is a law of human nature that power must have antagonisms. "They who walk in the sunshine of fame," says Scalliger, "must be followed by the shadows of envy." When the night comes the shadows pass away, even as they have passed from the early Presidents. The country hearkened, and not without the joy of mischief, perhaps, to the assaults upon Washington for his aristocratic and monarchical tendencies, for his stern, imperious nature; to the stories of Jefferson's Jacobinism and atheism, and the vulgar libels which now only live in the verses of Thomas Moore; to the furious denunciations of Jackson as a duelist, a racing man, an attendant at cock fights; to the narrations of Lincoln's impurity of speech, his unworthiness, his hidden sympathies with rebellion. If we are not mistaken this is the very Mr. Sumner who arraigned Lincoln for his infidelity to emancipation—the very Greeley who assailed him for his manifold shortcomings and gave his re-election a tardy and feeble support; and with them also united the very men who went to Cleveland and nominated a third party ticket, with John C. Fremont for the Presidency, and John Cochrane—the same who is now by God's good providence Alderman of the city of New York—as Vice President. The heroes of the Cleveland movement against Lincoln are the men to lead the bread-and-butterless movement against Grant. We presume that no friend of Grant, however, will tremble over the remembrance.

This being the outlook, we have to call attention to what seems to be the real danger to Grant. We pass from the bread-and-butterless movement, as a surface eruption on the republican body politic, and not to be seriously dreaded. History shows one singular thing: no President who had any claim to the respect of the people was ever defeated for re-election unless from circumstances arising from financial embarrassment and mismanagement. So long as the country goes along on bright summer seas, with business active and everybody making money, and the general finances in a healthy condition, the administration receives the credit, and no one cares to make a change. When the contrary is the case and business begins to shrink, and the country to show uneasy symptoms from overtrading or false economy, or following foolish notions of finance, every man in distress and every one in dread turns upon the administration with angry protests and questioning, and insists that no relief can come except from a change in the rulers. No matter what is true or false; whether, as is generally the case, the governing powers are blameless and the fault is with the people themselves, there must be an example, and the more illustrious the example the more satisfactory the punishment. History makes this almost a mathematical demonstration. John Adams was a good man and a good President. But John Adams suffered from the disordered condition of our finances after the Revolution and the misfortunes that fell upon the prosperity of the country through the operation of Hamilton's measures as Secretary of the Treasury. Time vindicated the genius of Hamilton and the wisdom of his financial policy. But before that came we had sore trials. The country became angry; it listened to the Jeffersonian